1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

527 349 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

> . . . comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.
>
> Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions (*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

[431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, *"E moko i te puaka"* (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

527 476 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore.

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small.

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive:

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.
Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.
Hakahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.
Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.
Hoi titii. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'atavai*).
Hutahe. Licentious fete.
Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.
Kavepue. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.
Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.
Mau. A great feast.
Hoi mau. He who gives the feast.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

/14 cont./ These 853
individuals[1] stand in the same classificatory kin relation to the [602]
child as the physiological mother does. When the child can
walk, it merely climbs up on the mother's lap, rummages
about for the breast and nurses. There are no weaning rituals; 862
the breast is merely denied to the child. The situation of
insecurity (Eysenck, 1961, p. 406) resulting from weaning is
often remedied today with the use of store-bought pacifiers. [178]
These can be seen, clamped deep into the mouths of some
two- or three-year olds, suspended by a string about /15/ their
necks. Caked breasts ('u hehe) or swollen breasts ('u hatu) are [757]
treated with hot water and massage.

As early as one day after birth, it is quite common for the 597
infant to be placed with adoptive parents, who may or may
not be relatives of the physiological parents. The institution
of adoption (ha kai 'i te tama) is extremely important to
Marquesans. From the time that pregnancy has become ob-
vious the expectant mother is petitioned by various relatives,
hopeful of obtaining the infant when it is born. The pressure
to put the child up for adoption is particularly strong in the
case of young girls who have become pregnant without having [836]
formed any permanent attachment to a male. In such in-
stances, the child limits the freedom of the girl, to move as
she pleases with males of her choice.

Even in the case of married couples, however, adoption
is very common; adopted children being found in nearly every
family. Here, the inducements to adopt and give for adoption
are in the main economic. A family without wealth, in [556]
terms of land and other material possessions, will offer their
child to a family who is "wealthy" on the native scale of
rating, in the hope that the child will work hard thus endear-
ing himself to his foster parents, who will in return settle a
portion of their property on him. Adoption is also a mechan- [476]●
ism for establishing lines of cooperation between families on
an economic level. Mutual adoptions are favored for rein-
forcing such joint economic endeavour. The dividends
accruing /16/ from extra children in a family are quite con-
siderable, for as the children grow up, they begin to assume
very definite roles in the daily work of the family, performing
numerous small, but vital functions.

1 [i.e., the child's aunts--Analyst]